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A Bouquet of Wisdom and Invective: Houghton MS. Lat 300

Jan Ziolkowski

In the twelfth century anthologies were the most common form in which short poems in Latin such as lyrics, epigrams, and occasional verse circulated in written form among the reading public.[1] Since twelfth-century anthologies are not identical with their twentieth-century descendants, it would be wise to describe the genre in general before scrutinizing Houghton MS. Lat 300 in particular.

The English word *anthology* derives from the Greek *anthologia*, which means "flower-collection" or "bouquet."[2] During the Byzantine era the Greek word became a metaphor for a collection of flowers of verse, that is, of small choice poems; the homonym *anthologion* was applied to hymnals.[3] Although the Neo-Latin term *florilegium* is a calque of *anthologia*, the two are not synonyms.[4] Whereas an anthology tends to be a conglomeration of complete texts, *florilegium* usually denotes wise sayings or memorable passages extracted from longer works.[5] In the Middle Ages various metaphoric terms related to *flores* were used to describe such collections of extracts.[6] Modern English uses the word *excerpt*, which sustains the floral imagery since it derives from a verb meaning "to pluck."[7]

Anthologies were produced in considerable abundance and variety long before the word itself came into currency.[8] The earliest ones appear to have been collections of epigrams and occasional poems. Some anthologies were culled from the works of a single poet, others from numerous poets. Some traced the history of one genre, whereas others offered a medley. From early times anthologists anthologized earlier anthologies: thus Meleager's *Stephanos* ("The Wreath" or "The Crown of Leaves"), which was collected around 80 B.C., was eventually incorporated into the famous *Greek Anthology*.

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[1] André Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien. Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode. Première partie, *Revue bénédictine*, 48 (1936), 3-40 (here: 3): "La grande masse, si l'on peut dire, de petits poèmes, religieux et profanes, qui furent composés en latin depuis la fin du XIe siècle jusqu'en plein XIVe, nous a été conservée dans le cadre des florilèges. . ."

[2] The etymology implied by Thomas Fuller's *Anthologia, or The Speach of Flowers. Partly Morall, Partly Misticall* (London: John Stafford, 1655) is false.

[3] See *Oxford English Dictionary*, "anthology."

[4] See A. G. Rigg, "Anthologies," in the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer, vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1982), pp. 317-320 (here: 317).

[5] See Mary A. Rouse, "Florilegia," in the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 5 (New York: Scribner, 1985), pp. 109-110. For more recent bibliography, see *Florilegia: Florilegium Frisingense (CLM 6433); Testimonia divinae Scripturae* <et patrum>, ed. Albert Lehner, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 108D (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987).

[6] See Gert Melville, "Zur 'Flores-Metaphorik' in der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung: Ausdruck eines Formungsprinzips," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 90 (1970), 65-80.

[7] See *Oxford English Dictionary*, "excerpt."

[8] See Gilbert Highet, "Anthology," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 67-68.

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From the beginning anthologists regarded their work as a skill in its own right. A very intelligent and explicit statement of pride in the craft of anthologizing appears in the medieval Arabic thesaurus or encyclopedia of belles-lettres (designated as *adab* in Arabic) by Ibn ᶜAbdrabbih of Córdoba (A.D. 860-940):

> I have composed this book and selected its jewels from the select jewels of moral saying and from the existing apothegms of clarity, so that it became the jewel of the jewel and the quintessence of the quintessence. In it only the composition of the selection, the successful abridgment, and the disquisition at the beginning of each chapter belong to me; everything else is taken from the mouths of scholars and is related on the authority of sages and literati. The selection of texts is more difficult than composing it. People have said: A man's choice is a messenger of his mind. A poet has said: We recognized you by your choice, since the intelligent man is indicated by his choice. Plato has said: People's minds are registered in the points of their pens and visible in the aptness of their choice.[9]

But anthologies are not always held in such high regard these days. Not only are they associated with the schoolroom, but in addition their intrinsic incompleteness clashes with the nearly universal human desire to read, or at least to claim to have read, entire works. Yet in spite of these problems, anthologies continue to be consulted and enjoyed by many people whose limited time and budgets would not otherwise permit them to sample and even possess the best of a given kind of writing.

Were medieval anthologies used in the same way as modern ones? The information is not yet sufficient to reach a judgment. Although dozens of medieval Latin anthologies have been located, described, and analyzed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, much work remains to be done before the use—or abuse—of anthologies in the Middle Ages can be assessed meaningfully.[10]

One vast Latin anthology from the early thirteenth century is famous throughout the West. When the German composer Carl Orff produced his oratorio in 1937, he made the *Carmina burana* a household word—if the *Carmina burana* had not attained this status as soon as the first edition appeared in 1847.[11] Yet Orff's twenty-five songs are just a small sampling of the *Carmina burana*, more than two hundred twenty-five quantitative and rhythmic poems which are organized in four distinct groups: moral-satirical poems (1-55), love lyrics (56-186), drinking and gaming poems (187-226), and religious dramas (227-228).[12] More important, the *Carmina burana* represent only one of many anthologies. Relatively few medieval Latin anthologies have been described more than cursorily; and a good many anthology poems have never been edited.

An overview of Latin anthologies would contribute to both the literary and the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. In the first place, the anthologies constitute a useful index of medieval reading tastes and of cultural influences.[13] In many cases they provide a tacit best seller list, since their contents indicate which poets and poems were in vogue in a given time and place. But perhaps the analogy is misleading, since best sellers are mass-produced, each copy a reproduction of a fixed

[9] Ibn ᶜAbdrabbih, *al-ᶜIqd al-farîd* ("The Unique Necklace"), ed. Aḥmad Amîn and others, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1940), p. 3. I was led to this passage by R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. viii, who quotes a small part of it without identifying the source. For finding and translating the unidentified passage I am obliged to Wolfhart Heinrichs.

[10] For a bibliography of published descriptions of anthologies, see A. G. Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)," *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), 281-330 (here: 282-284). Rigg's work has continued in "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (II)," *Mediaeval Studies*, 40 (1978), 387-407; "(III)," *Mediaeval Studies*, 41 (1979), 468-505; "(IV)," *Mediaeval Studies*, 43 (1981), 472-497; and "(V)," (written with David Townsend), *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), 352-390.

[11] J. A. Schmeller, ed. *Carmina Burana* (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins, 1847).

[12] The standard edition of the Latin text is *Carmina Burana*, ed. Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff, Band 1, vols. 1-3 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-70).

[13] Paul Lehmann, "Eine Sammlung mittellateinischer Gedichte aus dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, 30 (1935), 20-58 (here: 22).

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text. Although florilegia sometimes circulated in a fairly set form,[14] no two medieval Latin anthologies are exactly the same. Rather, they vary according to the tastes and values of individuals or communities. They are literary museums or, to take a metaphor from within the world of books, they are scrapbooks or commonplace books that reveal what was available and considered worth preserving and displaying.

Anthologies such as the *Carmina burana* or (nearly two centuries earlier) the *Carmina cantabrigiensia* include generous assortments of Latin songs that circulated with minstrels internationally.[15] Other anthologies present the collected or selected works of a single poet. Another sort of anthology assembles poems that were used liturgically. Many other anthologies are concatenations of poems that were employed as models in composition classes, poems that were produced in such classes, and poems such as epitaphs and eulogies that were composed by local artists for local audiences or addressees.[16]

In addition to the insights into medieval reading tastes that they offer, anthologies are also valuable because they shed light on medieval thinking about genres. Complementing the theoretical statements of grammarians and rhetoricians, the anthologies offer concrete evidence about the kinds of poems that medieval readers associated with each other.[17]

Rather than attempt to describe all the hundred or so anthologies that survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I will instead focus upon just one section of a single manuscript, namely, Houghton MS. Lat 300. In so doing I will seek first to determine where the poems in this portion of the anthology originated. Afterward, I will explore the thematic organization of one of the six main units in the manuscript, the second through the seventeenth poems.[18]

Houghton MS. Lat 300 has spent only a quarter century of its long and mysterious life at Harvard University: it was received on 23 February 1965 from Nicolaus Rauch, a bookseller in Switzerland. Of its earlier history we know nothing before 1836, when it was offered for sale in Paris. At that point it belonged to the library of Amans-Alexis Monteil, who interleaved the manuscript, tried without much success to transcribe parts of it, and published one poem from it;[19] but it was not included in the 1850 catalogue of his library.[20] It remained in private hands through the middle of the twentieth century, when it was in a Parisian collection.[21]

Although the manuscript may have been produced as a separate little volume, the odds are strong that it was bound with other gatherings into a bigger manuscript, from which it was later separated. Thus it has perhaps led the sad life of some manuscripts: alone at birth, surrounded by friends in youth, but solitary again in old age. But this supposition cannot be either proved or denied on the basis of the

[14] For example, see Rosemary Burton on the *Florilegium Gallicum*: *Classical Poets in the "Florilegium Gallicum,"* Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, 14 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1983).

[15] The four categories of anthologies described here were first proposed by W. Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte (Berl. Cod. theol. oct. 94)," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1895), 123-157 (here: 123-124).

[16] André Wilmart, "Le Florilège" (note 1), p. 11, defines the Tours florilegium as "un livret quasi officiel, où l'enseignement qui avait été donné de la rhétorique, au cours d'une assez longue période,—vingt, trente ans peut-être,—dans l'école capitulaire, se trouve mis au net et codifié, sous forme d'exemples variés."

[17] Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)" (note 4), p. 281.

[18] A fuller description of the manuscript will appear in the catalogue of Houghton's medieval collections that is being prepared by Laura Light.

[19] Amans-Alexis Monteil, *Traité de materiaux manuscrits de divers genres d'histoire*, 2d ed. (Paris: E. Duverger, 1836), II, 178.

[20] Amans-Alexis Monteil, *Catalogue des manuscrits et d'une partie des livres imprimés composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Amans Alexis Monteil* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1850).

[21] In the only published notice of the manuscript, André Vernet described it as being in the hands of "un amateur parisien"; see "Séance du 16 Avril," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, (1952-53), 52-53.

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frustratingly equivocal note penciled in a nineteeth-century hand on the interleaved page facing 9v, numbered 18: "Feuillets séparés d'un Ms du XIe siècle avec dessins à la plume."[22]

In its present form the manuscript comprises only five bifolios and a singleton (folio nine), for a total of eleven folios, as illustrated by Figure 1. The parchment is of poor quality. Although Monteil termed Houghton MS. Lat 300 a "manuscrit autographe," there are too many mistakes throughout the manuscript for any part of it to have been a poet's holograph.[23] Furthermore, not all of the writing was done by a single scribe. There are three main hands in the manuscript: folios 1-2 are by hand 1, folio 3r and part of 3v by hand 2, part of 3v and all of 4r by hand 3, folios 4-10v by hand 1, and folio 11 by hand 3. There are rubrics (to indicate new poems), perhaps hand 2, but not on folios 1r and 4v-10v. The ruling varies between hard point (folios 1-2, 4r, 5-6, 10-11), lead or crayon (3, 4v, 7), and lead point (8, 9r).

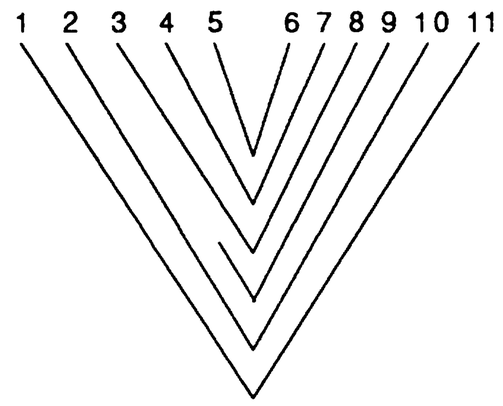

Figure 1.

All three hands (and the rubricator) are notable for their use of the tironian *et* sign (even within words on folio 11) and the *de* ligature that has been termed the "*de* monogram."[24] Hand 1 has the habit of extending letters at the bottom of columns four or even five lines toward the bottom of the folio (Figure 7). These traits are reminiscent of charters, although they are not restricted to chancellery documents.[25] Although the idiosyncrasy of the script and the lack of dated or datable texts that share all of its features make dating Houghton MS. Lat 300 a matter of guesswork, there is reason to believe that these folios were written in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[26]

On the eleven folios are written 95 poems and 1 prose work. Except for the first poem, all are in dactylic meters. These writings can be divided into six groups.

Group One

Number 1 (folio 1r1-2), the only rhythmic poem, is a group unto itself. Incipit "Medicamen et solamen est paupertas homini." Explicit "Ad ultimum stultissimum poteris te dicere." Forty-four fifteen-syllable lines, end-rhymed in fifteen strophes of three lines (except lines 34-35). Not in the standard incipitarium (Walther).[27]

Group Two (Figures 5-7)

Numbers 2-17 (folios 1vl-2v2) are an anthology within the anthology. Although a more detailed description of these poems will follow, I will provide here their incipits, their lengths and metrical forms, the numbers assigned to them in the incipitarium (Walther), bibliography of previous editions, and references to manuscripts not listed in the incipitarium.

[22] The note could mean either that the folios were detached from a larger manuscript or that the folios of the manuscript were detached from one another during the process of interleaving.

[23] Monteil, *Traité* (note 19), II, 177.

[24] The term was used by I. Short, who amassed considerable evidence to prove that this ligature was common in charters of the period between 1150 and 1180; see "The Oxford Manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*: A Palaeographic Note," *Romania*, 94 (1973), 221-231. Malcolm Parkes established that the ligature appears as early as the eleventh century and as late the mid-twelfth century; see M. B. Parkes, "The Date of the Oxford Manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 23)," *Medioevo romanzo*, 10 (1985), 161-175 (here: 162-163).

[25] There are many examples of lengthened descenders in Françoise Gasparri, *L'Ecriture des actes de Louis VI, Louis VII, et Philippe Auguste* (Geneva and Paris, 1973), with 70 plates of 79 charters.

[26] In handwritten notes concerning the manuscript, Richard Rouse posited that the three hands were "contemporary with each other, working around 1160-80 or 1170-90." In conversation Malcolm Parkes inclined to roughly the same dating. Vernet dated it at the beginning of the thirteenth century: see "Séance du 16 Avril" (note 21), p. 52.

[27] Walther = Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen*, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, section 1, 2d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969).

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No. 2. Incipit "Flebilis hora redit: reditum fle flebilis hore." Twenty lines of the end-rhymed hexameters known as *caudati*.[28] Walther 6601. Ed. from Reims, MS. 1275 (s. XIII), folio 189 [= R] in Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims" (for a full reference, see note 59), p. 514. In addition, the poem is extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson G. 109 (s. XII-XIII) [= Rg]: see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (for a full reference, see note 10), p. 487, no. 60.

No. 3. Incipit "*Ne* uetitis cenis inhiet gula, comprime frenis!" Ten lines of internally rhymed elegiac distichs. Not in Walther. Ed. from Rg by Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)," p. 493, no. 126.

No. 4. Incipit "Mors furit et mortis emancipat omne furori." Four lines: two hexameter couplets with end-rhyme. Not in Walther. Published from this manuscript by Monteil, *Traité* (for a full reference, see note 19), II, 178.

No. 5. Incipit "Ve, quid agam? plagam sub mesto pectore gesto." Thirty-nine hexameter lines, internally rhymed with the pattern . . a . . a . . b . . b. Not in Walther.[29] Also extant in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus A. xx (s. XIV ex.) [=T]: see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)," p. 307, no. 58.

No. 6. Incipit "Infelix duplici Landricus peste laborat." Seven elegiac distichs. Not in Walther.

No. 7. Incipit "Exposuere suum mihi Pierides Eliconem." Four elegiac distichs. Not in Walther. Ed. from Rg by Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)," p. 487, no. 57.

No. 8. Incipit "Materiam rerum proponit Eraclitus ignem." Two elegiac distichs. Not in Walther.

No. 9. Incipit "Basse pilos odis neque cernis quanta pilorum." Four lines of end-rhymed hexameters. Not in Walther.

No. 10. Incipit "Vis tua fracta perit fracto de cornibus uno." Four elegiac distichs. Not in Walther.

No. 11. Incipit "Errant qui credunt gentem peri*i*sse Ciclopum." Six end-rhymed elegiac distichs. Not in Walther. Also extant in Rg: see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)," p. 487, no. 63.

No. 12. Incipit "Exilaras mestos, Hilaris pater, Hilarienses." Eight hexameters, end-rhymed in two groups of four lines. Not in Walther. Also extant in Rg: see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)," p. 487, no. 63 (who considers nos. 11-12 one poem).

No. 13. Incipit "Edibus in nostris ferus hospitibus Diomedes." Eight hexameters, end-rhymed in two groups of four lines. Not in Walther.

No. 14. Incipit "Intus et exterius uirtute lauemur et unda." Two end-rhymed hexameters. Not in Walther.

No. 15. Incipit "Solue graues penas celerum, committe, Loteri" (first three letters of last word uncertain). Six hexameters, all with the same end-rhyme. Not in Walther.

[28] See Wilhelm Meyer, "Radewins Gedichte über Theophilus und die Arten der gereimten Hexameter," in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik* 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905-1936; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1970), vol. 1 (1905), pp. 59-135 (here: pp. 82-83), and Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), p. 78.

[29] Before the manuscript came into the possession of the Houghton Library, this poem was listed by Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), II, 575 (on the basis of Vernet's brief description).

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No. 16. Incipit "Per loca culta parum, per aquas, per lustra ferarum." Eight leonine hexameters. Walther 13944: compare Walther 12932 ("De itinere Romano"). Also preserved (between poems by Hildebert of Lavardin) in Gdansk, MS. Mar. F. 286 (s. XV), folio 174 ("De difficultate itineris Romani") [= D]. For an edition and further information, see *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek verfertigt und herausgegeben im Auftrage der städtischen Behörden*, vol. 5, Katalog der Handschriften, part 5, "Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig," by Otto Günther (Danzig: Kommissions-Verlag von A. W. Kafemann, 1921), pp. 375-381 (here: 379).

No. 17. Incipit "Mira uidere cupis? Ascende cacumina rupis." Six lines: two elegiac distichs, followed by two hexameters. In each distich a leonine hexameter is followed by a pentameter with a different internal rhyme (. . b . . b . . b). The two hexameters at the end are leonine. Walther 11074: cites Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17212 (s. XII/XIII), folio 22 (also 6 verses). See *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae regiae monacensis*, Tomi 4, Pars 3 "Codices latinos (Clm) 15121-21313 complectens," ed. Karl Halm, Friedrich Heinz, Wilhelm Meyer, and Georg Thomas (Munich, 1878), item 709, pp. 87-89 (here: 88).

Group Three

Numbers 18-87 (folios $3^{r\,l}$-7^{r2}) are epigrams. Number 18 is a two-line epigram: "Natus homo, uitulus moriendo leoque resurgens,/ In pennis aquile Christus ad astra uolat." Walther no. 11625. Published by André Boutemy, "Notes additionnelles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le manuscrit 115 de Saint Omer," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 22 (1943), 5-33 (here: p. 25). Numbers 19-87 are biblical epigrams by Hildebert of Lavardin.[30]

Group Four

Numbers 88-89 (folios 7^{vl}-8^{r2}) are modeled on ancient exercises in forensic rhetoric.

No. 88 is the *De gemellis* (although it is not entitled in Houghton MS. Lat 300), based on a pseudo-Quintilian *Declamatio*. Eighty-two hexameter lines. Incipit "*R*oma duos habuit, res est, non fabula vana." Explicit "Definiuit eam sententia iudicialis." Walther no. 16848.[31]

No. 89 is the *De paupere ingrato* (although it is not entitled in Houghton MS. Lat 300), based on Seneca's *Controversia* 5.1. Twenty-eight lines (14 elegiac couplets). Incipit "*M*esta parens misere paupertas anxietatis." Explicit "Res est iudicibus discucienda datur." Walther no. 10559.[32]

[30] See A. B. Scott, Deirdre F. Baker, and A. G. Rigg, "The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies*, 47 (1985), 272-316 (which does not make use of Houghton MS. Lat 300).

Houghton MS. Lat 300 contains 68 of the 69 epigrams in the new edition. In addition, the epigrams in the Houghton manuscript follow the same order as those in the new edition, with the following exceptions: no. 5 is omitted, nos. 22-23 are reversed, and nos. 50.I and 61.I are included, but not 50.II and 61.II. Comparing the text of the poems in Houghton MS. Lat 300 with the text in other early manuscripts could offer an additional means of localizing the anthologist (or the manuscripts upon which he drew).

[31] The best edition is Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt*, 2d ed. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer & Co., 1905; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979), pp. 55-58. The text in Houghton MS. Lat 300 differs from Werner's edition, in both individual words and the arrangement of lines.

The poem is extant in many manuscripts, among which Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson G. 109; see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 487, no. 55, and London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus A. xx; see Rigg, "(I)" (note 4), p. 306, no. 54.

[32] The best edition is André Vernet, "Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, (Paris 1946), II, 251-275 (here: 256-257). In Houghton MS. Lat 300, lines 27-30 of Vernet's edition are omitted.

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Group Five

The last six poems, 90-95 (folios 8^{v1}-10^{v2}), are occasional poems.[33]

No. 90. Folios 8^{v1}-9^{r2}. Incipit "*O*mnibus in rebus qua, mi Philippe, uidemus/ Nil gerit utilius principe terra bono." Explicit "Interea longum ualeat Martellus et omnis/ Qui pro Martello uota benigna facit." 100 lines (50 elegiac distichs) in praise of "Martellus," apparently Geoffrey Martel le Jeune, count of Anjou (died 19 May 1106).[34] Not in Walther.

No. 91. Folios 9^{r2}-10^{r2}. Incipit "*F*rancia dulcis, aue! Regio bona, bella, salubris/ Deliciosa, potens, fertilis, ampla satis." Explicit "Ergo diu uiuat rex Ludouicus et omnis/ Qui super hoc uerbo uota benigna facit!" 116 lines (58 elegiac distichs) celebrating the accession to power of Louis VI, King of France (died in 1137). Not in Walther.

No. 92. Folio 10^{r2}-10^{v2}. Incipit "*F*lete senes, plorate uiri, iuuenes lacrimentur/ Cum pueris, doleat sexus uterque simul." Explicit "Prima fuit mortis illius et ultima uite/ Octobris decima prima secunda dies." 50-line eulogy (25 elegiac distichs) for a certain Milo, who has been identified with both Bishop Milo of Palestrina (Praeneste),[35] and Miles II of Bray, lord of Montlhéry.[36] Not in Walther.

No. 93. Folio 10^{v2}. Incipit "*F*los, decus, exemplum iuuenum, patrie, probitatis." Explicit "Frodonis uitam clausit aitque uale." 6 lines (three elegiac distichs) to mark the death of one Frodo. Not in Walther.

No. 94. Folio 10^{v2}. Incipit "*R*eddere sufficerent plures, Iuliane, beatos." Explicit "Et foueant animam pax requiesque tuam." 6 lines (three elegiac distichs) to eulogize one Julian. Not in Walther.

No. 95. Folio 10^{v2}. 4 lines (two elegiac distichs). Epigram or epitaph for a dead man named Maurice. Not in Walther.

*M*auricius locuples uiuendi lege peracta
Mortuus est, sed non hec sua culpa fuit:
Si licuisset ei precio corrumpere fata,
Nequaquam uiuos deseruisset adhuc.

Translation: Rich Maurice died when the law of life was finished, but through no fault of his own: if he had been allowed to tamper with fate by bribery, he would not yet have left the living.

Textual notes: *Initial missing.* 1] uuĭadi *H.*

[33] The information on these poems derives from Vernet, "Séance du 16 Avril" (note 21), pp. 52-53.

[34] On poems composed in honor of Geoffrey, see Barthelemée Hauréau, "Notice sur les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 28, part 2 (Paris, 1878), pp. 289-448 (here: 311), and Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien" (note 1), p. 40, no. 346. For general information on him, see passim in Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions A. & J. Picard, 1972), and Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1974).

[35] This is the identification in a description (of which the French original has been lost, but an English translation is available) of the manuscript supplied by the bookseller Nicolaus Rauch and apparently compiled by André Vernet. For information on Cardinal Bishop Milo of Palestrina, see Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Vertrage von Meersen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130*, Historische Studien 263 (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935), p. 169. Marbod wrote a poem in praise of this Milo; see Maximilian Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 9 Abteilung, 2 Teil (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1911-1931), vol. 3 (1931), p. 644.

[36] In "Séance du 16 Avril" (note 21), p. 53, Vernet wrote that the subject of the poem was "sans doute Milon II de Bray, seigneur de Montlhéry, assassiné par son cousin Hugues de Crécy, en octobre 1116 ou 1117."

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Group Six

The five groups of poems are followed by one prose item: an abridgment of prophecies of the Tiburtine sibyl (folio 11r&v). Incipit "*D*ecem Sibille fuerunt que a doctis auctoribus celebrantur. . ."[37]

Even a quick survey of the poems in Houghton MS. Lat 300 suggests that the manuscript could eventually help in determining the filiation of some other, later anthologies. For instance, it is interesting to observe that Houghton MS. Lat 300 shares with Rg six items: poems 2-3, 7, 11-12, and 88. Rg is closely connected with T: the two have in common sixteen items.[38] In turn, Houghton MS. Lat 300 shares two items with T, poems 5 and 88; but the former piece is not found in Rg. To look in a different direction, Houghton MS. Lat 300 shares with Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 115 (s. XII²) both the biblical epigrams (including the "Natus homo, uitulus moriendo leoque resurgens") and the *De paupere ingrato*.[39]

The complex relationships between the Houghton manuscript and various other manuscripts confirm how freely Latin anthologies circulated and medieval anthologists rearranged, added, and subtracted poems in assembling new anthologies on the basis of old ones. The tradition we should envisage is one in which compilers blended their choice of poems from a constantly changing reservoir of regionally, nationally, or even internationally popular poems with the best of their own poems or those of local poets.

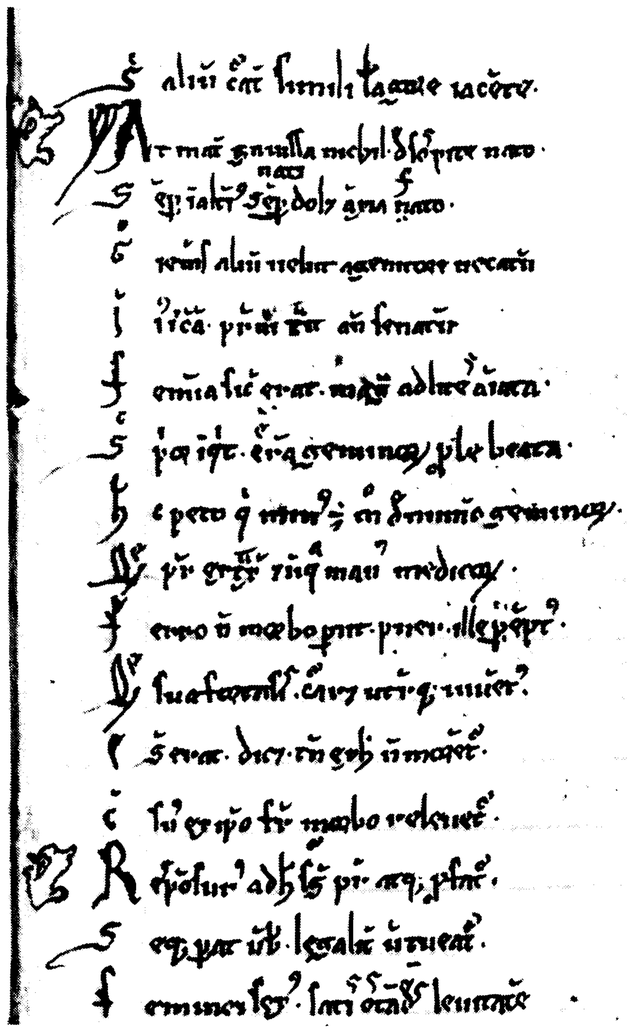

Figure 2. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 8r, detail (upper left margin)

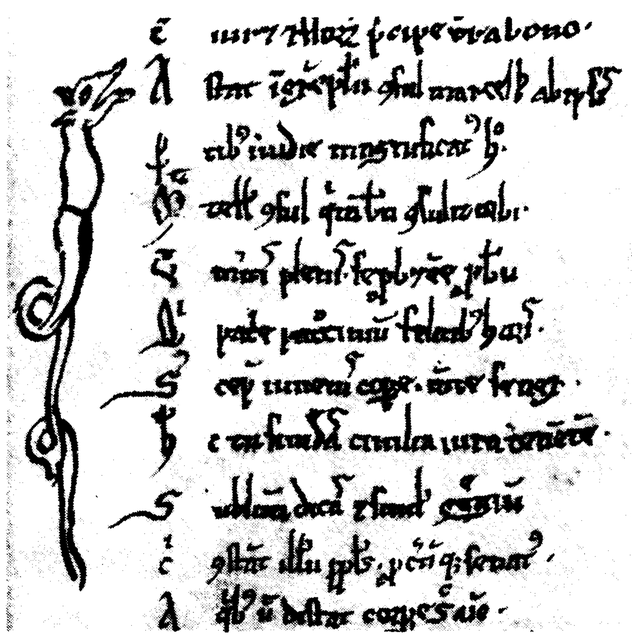

Figure 3. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 8v, detail (central left margin)

In contrast to such well-known anthologies as the *Carmina cantabrigiensia* and the *Carmina burana*, the poems of Houghton MS. Lat 300 have no musical flavor. They contain neither musical terminology nor neumes and other forms of musical notation. Compensating visually if not aurally for the lack of music are the drawings that accompany four of the poems.[40] Since all of the drawings appear on folios where hand 1 wrote the text, hand 1 could have been the draftsman. Whoever produced these unsophisticated drawings, it would be a mistake to regard them as impromptu sketches. In the twelfth century, and especially in a low-budget manuscript like Houghton MS. Lat 300, drawings take the place of illuminations for reasons of economy.[41] These drawings are likelier to hew to model-books than to a draftsman's imagination or to observation of nature.

On 2v (Figure 7, *bottom*) a barking dog or open-mawed wolf is drawn between poems 13 and 17, perhaps to exemplify the poor hospitality of the Diomedes described in poem 13. In the left margin of 8r (Figure 2) there are two open-mouthed grotesques, one of which is placed to indicate a transition in the *De gemellis* (line 53) and one to indicate a change of speakers in the same poem (line 65). In the left margin of 8v (Figure 3), beside the first column of poem 90 ("Omnibus in rebus qua, mi Philippe, uidemus" lines 11-19), is a serpentine drollery with two loops in its tail. At the foot of 9v1 (Figure 4) is a picture of a lion (labeled *leo*) with

[37] I have been unable to trace this text.

[38] See Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 480.

[39] For descriptions of this manuscript, see Charles Fierville, "Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer, nos. 115 et 710," in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* vol. 31, part 1 (Paris, 1884) pp. 49-145, and André Boutemy, "Notes additionelles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le manuscrit 115 de Saint-Omer," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 22 (1943), 5-23.

[40] In the words of Monteil, *Traité* (note 19), II, 178, "Je veux du bien à ce poète du XIe siècle, qui dessinait mal, de ne pas s'être cru un grand dessinateur, d'avoir mis par dessus la représentation de quelques animaux qu'il a figurés sur les marges leurs noms, *leo*, *caper*."

[41] See M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London, New York, Sydney, and Toronto: Paul Hamlyn, 1969), pp. 10-15.

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Figure 4. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 9v[1], detail (bottom margin)

its right paw atop a goat (*caper*) and its left atop a ram (*aries*). Perhaps this drawing comments upon political events related or implied in poem 91 ("*F*rancia dulcis, aue! Regio bona, bella, salubris").

The origins of Houghton MS. Lat 300 cannot be pinpointed either geographically or chronologically. Although some features of the script suggest a chancellery, the small size of the folios, the shabby parchment, and the use of drawings instead of illuminations argue that the guiding force behind the manuscript was no high churchman, nobleman, or state official;[42] but somehow this person was able to direct, hire, or persuade at least two other people to take part in producing these eleven folios.

For want of paleographic or codicological information about the provenance of the manuscript or the identity of the anthologist, clues to the origins of Houghton MS. Lat 300 must be sought within the poems themselves. Although nine poems in the second section of the manuscript bear titles (poems 2-6 and 8-11), in no case does the manuscript indicate authorship. Nonetheless, the authorship of many poems in Houghton MS. Lat 300 is known from other sources. Most important, the 69 biblical epigrams are by Hildebert of Lavardin, and the two declamations that follow them are sometimes ascribed to Bernard Silvestris.[43]

Most of the poems—such as those celebrating Geoffrey Martel le Jeune and King Louis VI—were presumably composed during the first half of the twelfth century for an audience in the region running from Anjou through the Île de France. The biblical epigrams point more narrowly toward Tours, where Hildebert was archbishop from 1125 until his death in 1134—and where the invaluable Saint-Gatien anthology (Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 890, destroyed in 1940), with its ample samplings of Hildebert's and Marbod's poems, originated.[44] The two forensic declamations also suggest Tours. Although the attribution to Bernard is insecure, they can certainly be considered the product of the school of Bernard or of the "school of Tours."[45]

Of the first seventeen poems, only the twelfth, which seems to have been meant for an audience in Bordeaux, looks away from the Tours region. The seventh poem contains one further substantiation of the hypothesis that the anthology originated near Tours:

\2r2 Exposuere suum mihi Pierides Eliconem
Atque aditus aperit Philosophia suos.
Non ars una tamen, non unus contulit actor
Ut uates fierem philosofusque simul.
Carmina *Gua*lo mihi, Terricus philosophiam
Inspirat. Nostrum pectus utrumque sapit.
Lingua diserta sonat Terrici philosophiam;
*Gua*lonis redolent carmina nostra stilum.

[42] Parkes, "The Date of the Oxford Manuscript" (note 24), p. 174, hypothesizes that the person who produced Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 23 was "someone trained in the schools, who found service as chaplain or clerk in a bishop's *familia* or a baronial household; a man who had left the schools before the new developments in script had been fully accomplished, and who, once away from the environment of the schools, developed a personal style of handwriting in isolation. . ."

[43] In favor of the attribution, Edmond Faral, "Le manuscrit 511 du 'Hunterian Museum' de Glasgow," *Studi medievali*, n.s., 9 (1936), 18-119; against it, M. Brini Savorelli, "Il 'Dictamen' di Bernardo Silvestre," *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 20 (1965), 182-230 (here: p. 182 n. 1).

[44] See Wilmart, "Le Florilège (note 1), p. 5.

[45] Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. Peter Dronke, Textus minores, 53 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 7.

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Translation: The Muses exposed their Helicon to me and Philosophy opened her approaches to me. But it was not one liberal art and not one teacher that enabled me to become both poet and philosopher: Gualo inspires me with poetry, [5] Thierry with philosophy. My heart smacks of both men. (My) eloquent tongue sounds out the philosophy of Thierry; my verses have the air of Gualo's style.

Textual notes: 1] *First letter in red.* Exposuere suum mihi *H*: Exposuere michi *Rg*. 5] Carmina Galo michi *Rg*: Carmina conuallo mihi *H*. philosofiam *H*: *corrected in same hand to* philosophiam *by addition of* phi *above last syllable.* 8] Gaulonis *H*: Galonis *Rg*.

By mentioning the philosopher Thierry these couplets bring us again to the neighborhood of Tours, since this Thierry is likely to be Thierry of Chartres. Like his brother Bernard, Thierry taught philosophy in Chartres (one of his students styled him "totius Europae philosophorum praecipuus"); from 1142 to 1150 or thereabouts he was chancellor of the cathedral chapter there.[46]

Whereas identifying Thierry is easy, the poet Gualo (Galo) is elusive. The most widely preserved medieval Latin poem that is attributed to a Galo is an "Invectio in monachos," but nothing certain is known of this supposed author except that he was a Breton (as was Thierry).[47] This "Gualo the Breton" ("Gualo Brito") could be identical with Galo, a bishop of Léon (and monk of Landévennec?) in Brittany whose existence is attested during a twenty-year period between 1108 and 1128.[48] This bishop has been credited with a poem of hexameters in tercets *de mundi contemptu*.[49] In a poem found in at least three anthologies an otherwise unspecified Galo laments the absence of his friend Girard.[50] To complicate matters, another Galo (who seems to have had an uncle with the same name) is mentioned in an epitaph entitled "Gualo ad episcopum successorem patrui sui."[51] And a philosopher and dialectician in Paris who appears to be one more Galo is discussed in two other poems.[52] Once more evidence has been collected, it should be possible to sort out the biographies and writings of the various Gualos.

[46] See Peter Dronke, "Thierry of Chartres," in Peter Dronke, ed., *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 358-385 and 455; Édouard Jeauneau, "Thierry de Chartres," in Georges Grente, ed., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, vol. 1, *Le Moyen Age*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, and Guy Raynaud de Lage (Paris: A. Fayard, 1964), p. 710; Édouard Jeauneau, "Thierry v. Chartres," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, vol. 10 (Freiburg i. B.: Herder and Co., 1965), p. 114; André Vernet, "Épitaphe de Thierry de Chartres," in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel, membre de l'Institut, Directeur honoraire de l'École des Chartes, par ses amis, collègues et élèves*, vol. 2, Mémoires et documents, 12 (Paris: Sociétè de l'École des Chartes, 1955), pp. 660-670; and Berthe Widmer, "Thierry von Chartres, ein Gelehrtenschicksal des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 200 (1965), 552-571.

[47] Walther 17011, incipit "Sacrilegis monachis, emptoribus ecclesiarum," ed. Thomas Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, vol. 2, Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1872), pp. 201-207. On manuscripts, see André Boutemy, "Notice sur le recueil poétique du manuscrit Cotton Vitellius A xii, du British Museum," *Latomus*, 1 (1937), 278-313 (here: 284). Manitius refers to this Galo as Gualo of Caen: see Manitius, *Geschichte* (note 35), III, 644, 870 n. 3, and 943. For another opinion on the authorship, see Ronald E. Pepin, *Literature of Satire in the Twelfth Century: A Neglected Mediaeval Genre*, Studies in Mediaeval Literature, 2 (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), pp. 6 and 26 n. 16.

[48] See *Gallia christiana*, ed. Bartholomée Hauréau, vol. 14 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1856), col. 975.

[49] Incipit "Heu stolidi qui tam cupidi dubiis inhiatis." Ed. from fol. 135^{r2} of London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vitellius A. XII by Boutemy, "Notice sur le recueil poétique du manuscrit Cotton Vitellius A xii" (note 47), pp. 289 and 310-311. For discussion, see André Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien" (note 1), pp. 15-16.

[50] On the manuscripts of this 26-line poem (Walther 13561), see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), pp. 485-486, no. 41. Rigg notes: "Galo regrets Girard's absence and advises him not to work too hard. Galo and Girardus may be the friends of Baudri of Bourgueil to whom he addressed his poems. . ."

[51] See André Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), 47-55 (here: p. 49, item 22, fol. 103^{r}); and André Wilmart, "Le Florilège de Saint-Gatien. Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode. Seconde partie," *Revue bénédictine*, 48 (1936), 147-181 (here: p. 165, item 44, on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 5129).

[52] See Barthelemée Hauréau, *Les Mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (Paris: G. Pedone-Lauriel, 1882), pp. 30-33; and Werner, *Beiträge* (note 31), pp. 40, no. 101, and 58, no. 138.

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The author of the anthology poem to Girard is probably the Gualo to whom Baudry of Bourgueil (1046-1130) addressed two of his poems.[53] Once again, there is reason to believe that Gualo was a Breton: from 1107 Baudry was bishop of Dol in Brittany, where one of the Galos attended a council in 1128.[54] But is Baudry's Gualo one and the same as Bishop Galo? And is Bishop Galo the author of the "Invectio in monachos"? And is any of these identical with the Gualo to whom Rodulfus Tortarius, monk of Fleury, addressed one of his letters?[55] These matters merit further study.

Another intriguing question is the identity of the anonymous poet who studied under both Thierry and Gualo.[56] Although younger than Baudry, he could have been a member of Baudry's circle of friends and correspondents. A definite trace of Baudry's coterie in Houghton MS. Lat 300 is poem 93, three elegiac distichs that eulogize a certain Frodo: Baudry left three eulogies in distichs for a scholar named Frodo who left Anjou to seek his fortune in England.[57] Both Baudry and the poet of the Houghton poem use the commonplace of referring to Frodo as an "Aristotle."[58]

The pieces at the beginning and end of Houghton MS. Lat 300 may remain forever anonymous. Although we could speculate about their authorship and provenance, we must content ourselves with the general observation that the poems emanated from French scholarly circles of the first half of the twelfth century, and with the intuition that most of them were written by and for secular clerics of the Loire valley.

Our footing will be surer if we look at Houghton MS. Lat 300, not simply to discover more about the poets who produced the poems within it or the anthologies upon which it drew, but also to come to terms with the thinking of the anthologist who assembled it. We will give particular scrutiny to one section of the manuscript; for the arrangement of poems two through seventeen evinces a deliberate thematic progression.

On the recto of the first folio is the first poem, "Medicamen et solamen est paupertas homini." "Medicamen et solamen" stands apart from poems two through seventeen, most obviously because it is the only one in a rhythmic meter. Furthermore, although written in the same hand that copied poems two through seventeen, "Medicamen et solamen" was probably added later. Why? Even though it appears to be complete, it has neither a title, nor a red initial, nor even the unfilled space for a red initial. The folio is ruled in the same way as the others, but whereas the other folios with poems have few empty lines, this one has nearly twenty unfilled lines in the second column. These facts suggest that "Medicamen et solamen" was written after the other poems, on a folio side that had been left blank originally,

[53] See Baldricus Burgulianus, *Carmina*, ed. Karlheinz Hilbert, Editiones Heidelbergenses, 19 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), pp. 255-258 and 298-299, nos. 193 and 252 = *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil*, ed. Phyllis Abrahams (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), nos. 231 and 31. Manitius identifies Baudry's Galo with Gualo of Caen: see Manitius, *Geschichte* (note 35), III, 888 and 943.

[54] See *Gallia christiana*, ed. Bartholomèe Hauréau, vol. 14 (1856), col. 975.

[55] *Epistula* 7 "Ad Gualonem," in *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, ed. Marbury B. Ogle and Dorothy M. Schullian, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 8 (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1933), pp. 298-316. Manitius identifies this Galo with Bishop Galo of Paris and dates the verse epistle to 1108, when Galo and other prelates brought the body of Philip I to be buried in Fleury: Manitius, *Geschichte* (note 35), III, 874.

[56] Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 487, comments: "The identity of a philosopher-poet indebted to Galo and Thierry of Chartres (died 1155) is tantalizing."

[57] See *Carmina*, ed. Hilbert (note 53), pp. 53-54, nos. 28-30 = ed. Abrahams (note 53), nos. 90-92.

[58] See *Carmina*, ed. Hilbert, p. 53, no. 29, line 2 = ed. Abrahams, no. 91.

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because the compiler intended or expected it to be placed at the front of his manuscript, where it would receive heavy wear.

The next three poems handle the interrelated topics of illness, medicine, and death. The second poem in the manuscript is "About the onset of fever," as its title indicates.

\1v

De accessu febris

Flebilis hora redit: reditum fle flebilis hore,
In cuius reditu febris incumbente calore
Afficitur curis animus corpusque labore.
Vis perit exterior, quia ui caret interiore;
Singula membra iacent, proprio uiduata uigore.
Lux caligat, hebent aures nec gaudet *od*ore
Naris, et esca gulam non mitigat ulla sapore,
Priuanturque manus tactu rerumque tenore.
Forma decens roseo spectabilis ante decore
Quam deformauit macies, fugiente rubore,
Posset spectantes subito turbare timore,
Et me terribili perterret bubo canore,
Et super humano strix uisa dolere dolore,
At quociens quouis soluuntur membra sopore,
Me terrent lemures aspersaque monstra cruore,
Et furie que corda mouent humana furore
Tesifoneque minax et peior utraque sorore
Verbera seua parat stigio perfusa liquore,
Et stigium carmen laruali person*at ore*,
Hirta comas uultuque ferox et opaca colore.

Translation: The mournful hour returns: lament the return of the mournful hour, at the return of which the soul is afflicted by cares and the body by distress as the heat of a fever attacks. Outward strength perishes, because it lacks inward strength. All the limbs lie idle, bereft of their vigor [5]. Vision grows blurred, hearing turns dull, the nose takes no pleasure in scent, no food assuages the throat with taste, and the hands lose their capacity for touching and holding objects. One's graceful appearance, formerly outstanding for rosy beauty, could alarm onlookers with sudden fright, once gauntness has disfigured it and dispelled its ruddiness [10-11]. The horned owl frightens me with frightening song and, in addition, the owl seems to grieve with human grief; but however often [my] limbs are released in any sleep, ghosts and blood-spattered monsters frighten me [15], and furies which stir human hearts with madness; and Tisiphone, threatening and worse than either of her sisters [= Allecto and Megaera], readies savage blows, drenched in the water of the river Styx; and, shaggy-haired, fierce-faced, and dark-colored, she sounds out a hellish song with ghoulish mouth [20].

Textual notes: *Title and initial letter rubricated*. 1] fle *H*: fleo *R*, *Rg*. 2] incumbente *H*, *R*: incon-bente *Rg*. 4] exterior *H*: interior *R*, *Rg*. ui *H*: *omitted Rg*. interiore *H*: exteriore *R*. 6] aures hebent *H*: hebent aures *R*, *Rg*. hore *H*: odore *R*, *Rg*. 9] roseo *H*, *R*: reseo *Rg*. 10-11] fugiente rubore/ . . . turbare timore *H*, *R*: turbare timore/. . . fugiente rubore *Rg*. 13] strix *H*, *R*: stirx *Rg*. 14] At *H*: Et *R*. sopore *R*: dolore *corrected above line to* sopore *H*. 15] aspersaque *H*, *R*: asperaque *Rg*. 17] Tesifone que *H*: Thesiphoneque *R*, Tesiphoneque *Rg*. 18] parat

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H, R: parit *Rg.* stigio *H, R*: stygio *Rg.* 19] stigium *H, R*: stygium *Rg.* laruali *H, R*: laruari *Rg.* persona *H*: personat ore *R, Rg.* 20] et opaca *added above line in same hand H.*

In Reims, MS. 1275 this poem is immediately preceded by one that is closely related in both form and content: twenty end-rhymed hexameters on the topic of a persistent fever.[59] In Rg an unrelated poem intervenes between the two.[60] Presumably "Flebilis hora redit," which begins by mentioning that a fever is returning (*redit*), was a sequel to the other poem, which for an unknown reason the compiler of the Houghton manuscript chose to omit.

Despite the omission of the first fever poem, the compiler happens (or is determined?) to create a medical section of sorts within his anthology, for he follows the "Flebilis hora redit" with a poem that describes a major cause of illness and its consequences. The third poem tells of two perennial battles, with the waistline and with doctors. These ten lines are entitled "About adhering to a diet and about false doctors":

De custodia diete et falsis medicis

Ne uetitis cenis inhiet gula, comprime frenis!
    Comprime, ni malis non caruisse malis.
Si mihi cauissem, si frena gule posuissem,
    In me quartanas non reuocasset anas.
Quot tot Cloto notat uexatque febris, gula potat;
    Ergo si sapias, frena gule facias. *1v1*
Viscera torquentur, quia felle *lut*oque replentur:
    ad medici nutum fel bibo, ceno lutum.
Hoc mihi causa necis sit amare potio fecis,
    sed pereat per eam quod facit ut peream! *1v2*

Translation: Lest the gullet open wide for forbidden foods, clamp it shut! Clamp it shut, unless you prefer to suffer illnesses. If I had watched out for myself, if I had clamped my gullet shut, a duck would not have caused my quartan fever to return. The gullet absorbs just as many [people] as Clotho marks [for death] and fever ravages. Therefore, if you have your wits, clamp your gullet shut. [My] intestines are tortured, because they are filled with bile and mud. I drink bile, I eat mud at the doctor's behest. This potion of bitter dregs may be the death of me, but may he perish through it because he causes me to perish![61]

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics.* 1] De *H*: Ne *Rg.* 3] cauisem *H.* 5] notat *H*: necat *Rg*, secat *conjectures Rigg.* portat *H*: necat *Rg* (*against the meter*). *Probably the scribe of H incorrectly wrote* notat *and then produced* portat *in order to supply a rhyme, of sorts.* 7-10] *Signe de renvoi after 6 leads to rubric below column two, where the four lines are written (in a different hand?)* 7] ciboque *H*: lutoque *Rg.* 9] *An additional* sit *written above* potio *H.* 10] perit *H*: pereat *Rg.*

[59] Incipit "Ut medici perhibent, mea febris in ossibus heret." Walther 19830. Ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 18 (1893), pp. 513-514. For another poem with twenty lines all end-rhymed on *-ore*, see Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (note 29), II, 451.

[60] See Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 487, nos. 58-60.

[61] Although both manuscripts read *quod*, the last line would be improved by emending to *qui* ("may he perish through it who causes me to perish").

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In the event that the reader ignores all the sound advice in the second and third poems, the fourth poem gives information "About death":

\1v2

De morte

Mors furit et mortis emancipat omne furori.
Nil morti demens, mors facit omne mori.
Mors indiscrete maiora minoribus equat;
Omnia mors equa condicione necat.

Translation: Death rages and frees everything from the rage of death. Depriving death of nothing, death causes everything to die. Death renders the great equal to the humble, without distinction; death slays all on the same terms.

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics. Published from this manuscript by Monteil*, Traité, *vol.* 2, *p.* 178: "Mors furit et morti somnicipat omne furo/ Nil morti dirimus, mors facit omne mo/ Mors indistincte majora cratieribus equat/ Omnia mors equa conditione necat."

The fifth poem is linked with its predecessors through its closing description of illness and death, but it is mainly on the theme of desperate love (as its title indicates).

Conquestio amantis

Ve, quid agam? Plagam sub mesto pectore gesto;
Saucius interius, doleo nimis ossibus imis;
Torqueor et teneor, laqueo captus Cithereo;
Sollicitus penitus, loris constringor amoris.
Quem sequor, ille decor me lesit et intus adhesit.
Hic meus est laqueus, hinc cure non habiture.
Constituam statuam Veneri morboque mederi.
Qui dolet, intro uolet; cadet hinc data uictima grata
Igne nec indigne ponam deuotus ego tus,
Hancque colam solam, si purget dura quod urget.
Hactenus ergo, Venus, fer opem, queso, michi leso.
Quero michi misero, michi mesto, micior esto.
Quod peto, completo. Gere morem, pelle dolorem;
Vulnera letifera, dea, comprime, redde michi me.
Nam temere misere sum captus, sum michi raptus.
Me tenet ut penet Ioue digna superba Corigna.
Querit sponte, gerit michi bella superba puella.
Cum fleo, cum doleo miser eque nocte dieque,
Acrior asperior id curat ut acrius urat.
Enecor, excecor, quia quod precor inflat ere cor.
Tu cor ad hoc, dea, uelle pelle rebelle puelle.
Expuit et renuit michi mente pari sociari.
Ridet quando uidet commotum me fore totum.
Estus et questus lacrimantis ridet amantis. 1v2\
\2r1 Mens igitur quatitur, foris extant signa doloris,
Nec latet, immo patet certis signis meus ignis.

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Nam caro dum raro quod uul*t* habet, arida tabet.
Risus abest, uisus lacrimis tabescit opimis.
Sed dolor, ira, color, gemitus tociens repetitus.
Quid sibi na*mqu*e cibi? Cibus eius quod michi peius.
Est rudis in ludis, effrenis parque leenis.
Tu, dea nectarea, distilla nectar ut illa
Effrenis lenis, infesta sit inde modesta.
Muneribus, precibus cum tempto domumque frequento,
Quid paro? Litus aro, cui tandem *s*emina mandem?
Cum secor atque precor, aures claudit, nichil audit.
Plus ideo doleo, crescit furor et magis uror.
Fessus et oppressus tandem morbum fero grandem.
Mors prope: nudus ope, uicinam cerno ruinam.

Translation:

A Lover's Lament

Alas, what am I to do? I bear a wound within my sad heart; smitten within, I grieve to the very marrow of my bones; I am tortured and held fast, captured by the snare of Venus; troubled through and through, I am bound by the bonds of love. [5] The beauty that I follow has wounded me and has clung to my heart. It is my snare, from it come cares that do not pass away.

I will erect a statue to Venus and will arrange to be healed of sickness. Let the person who suffers pain hurry inside: a pleasing sacrificial animal given by him will fall and, not undeservedly, I will place incense devoutly in the fire. [10] I will worship her alone, if she dispels the trouble that she harshly threatens. Therefore bring aid, Venus, I ask, to me because I am wounded. I ask, be gentler to me, sad and wretched as I am. Carry out what I ask. Indulge me, banish my sorrow; bind my fatal wounds, goddess, return me to myself, [15] for I have been recklessly and wretchedly captured and taken from myself.

Haughty Corinna, fit for Jupiter, holds me to punish me. Of her own free will the proud girl seeks and wages war against me. When I weep and grieve, wretched equally by night and day, she grows keener and harsher; and she takes care that passion burns me more keenly. [20] I am tortured and blinded, because my entreaties swell the heart of my mistress with pride.

Impel the rebellious heart of the girl as I wish, goddess. She spurns and refuses to be joined with like mind to me. She laughs when she sees that I am entirely distraught; she laughs at the frenzy and lamentation of a weeping lover.

[25] Therefore my mind is shattered: the signs of grief can be seen outwardly, and my passion is not hidden, but is displayed with sure indications; for when the flesh seldom has what it wishes, it withers and wastes away. Laughter is gone, the face dissolves from plentiful tears. But grief, passion, the flush of emotion, and moans are many times repeated.

[30] What is her food? Her food is what is worst for me. She is graceless and unruly in play, no different from lionesses. You, goddess sweet as nectar, sprinkle nectar so that that unruly and violent girl may then be gentle and mild.

When I court her with gifts and entreaties and visit her home constantly, [35] what do I achieve? I plow a shore, to which in the end I should consign seeds? When I follow her about and beg, she shuts her ears and hears nothing. Therefore I grieve more, the frenzy grows, and I am inflamed more. Tired and overpowered, at length I suffer a great illness. Death is close: stripped of resources, I see my demise nearby.

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Textual Notes: *Title (in red) only in H.* 1] Ve *initial in red H.* gesto *T,* iesto (i *expunged*, g *above line*) *H.* 2] osibus *H.* 2-3] *Or punctuate* "Saucius interius doleo nimis; ossibus imis/ Torqueor et teneor. . ." 5] ille decor *H,* iste decor *T.* 6] hinc cure non habiture *H,* hec insita corde sagitta *T.* 7-8] *Or punctuate* "Constituam statuam Veneri; morboque mederi/ Qui dolet. . ." 8] intro *H,* intra *T.* uictima *T,* uitima *H.* 9] Igne *H,* Digne *T.* ponam *T,* pona *H.* tus *H,* thus *T.* 10] dura *H,* diua *T.* 12] michi misero *T,* michi s misero (s *expunged*) *H.* 13] gere morem *H,* gero morem *T.* 14] Vulnera *H,* Wlnera *T.* 15] Nam temere *T,* Nam tenere *H.* 17] gerit *T,* ierit *H.* 18] cum doleo *T,* cum doleo *or* condoleo *H.* nocte dieque *T,* docteque (d *expunged*, n *above line*) dieque *H.* 19] Acrior *T,* Ascrior *H.* 21] dea uelle *H,* uelle dea *T. To bring the rhyme scheme into conformity with other lines, rearrange* "Pelle rebelle cor ad hoc, tu dea, uelle puelle"? 24] Estus et questus *HT:* us *written in red on line*, et questus *written in red in margin H.* 25] foris extant signa doloris: *ink thick H.* 26] patet (*written above line*) *H. In T the letters before* signis *are smudged and* ignis *is oddly abbreviated* ig^{i}s. 27] Nam *H,* Iam *T.* dum *H,* de *T.* uult *T,* uul *H.* arida *H,* arrida *T.* 29] tociens *H,* tocies *T.* 30] Quod sibi namque *T,* Quod sibi nape *H.* quod michi *HT: word written in between and inked out H.* cibus *H,* cibet *T.* 34] cum tempto *T,* cum tempto *or* contempto *H.* 35] femina *H,* femine *T.* 36] Cum sequor *T,* Cum secor *or* consecor *H.* 38] tandem morbum *H,* morbum tandem *T.* 39] *Final letter of* Mors *smudged T.*

Apart from a few splashes of Ovidian color, the poem is more interesting for its form than for its content.[62] The hexameters are internally rhymed according to the pattern . . a . . a . . b . . b. In medieval handbooks on metrics such verses were designated *bicipites* and *sinodati*.[63]

The topic of love leads to a sixth poem which focuses upon lust and gluttony:

De Landrico edace et luxurioso

Infelix duplici Landricus peste laborat;
Alterius uires altera pestis alit.
Clades prima gule cladesque secunda priapi.
Mentula nec nouit nec gula frena pati.
Quod prebet tellus, nutrit mare, sustinet aer,
Id recipit uenter, mentula spergit idem.
Res elementorum sedem confundit in unam,
Cogit in anticum sic elementa cahos.
Ventris eum dampnosa lues, damp*nosa* libido
Priuat amicitia presulis atque domo.
Vendidit ergo domos, prebendas uendidit idem,
Et iam principibus displicet ille uiris.
Quod stomacus commisit edax commisit et inguen,
Fabula Landricus factus in urbe luit. 2^{r1}\

[62] For example, the woman mentioned in line 16 is Corinna, subject of many of Ovid's love poems (*Amores* 1.5, 1.11, 2.6, 2.8, 2.11-13, 2.17, 2.19, 3.1, 3.7, and 3.12). Such phrases as "uictima grata" in line 8 and "signa doloris" in line 25 are Ovidian in origin; see Otto Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon. Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta* (henceforth referred to as LH-L by volume and page number), Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Hilfsmittel, 4, 1-6 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1979-83), vol. 5 (1982), pp. 596 (*Fasti* 1.440), and 152 (*Tristia* 4.3.28). Similarly, the wording of the proverb in line 35 seems to reflect a knowledge of Ovid's *Heroides* 5.115; for different versions, see August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1890; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1988), p. 159, no. 789, and Reinhard Häussler, ed. *Nachträge zu A. Otto Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), pp. 57 and 169-170.

[63] Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (note 28), I, 92-93.

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Translation: About gluttonous and lecherous Landry

> Unfortunate Landry labors under a two-fold affliction: one affliction builds the strength of the other. The first pestilence is of the gullet, the second of the phallus. Neither the penis nor the gullet can endure restraints. What the land offers, sea nourishes, and air sustains, the stomach receives and the penis shoots out. He conflates the substances (*res*) of the four elements into one location, he compels them into primordial chaos. Ruinous corruption of the stomach and ruinous lust deprive him of the bishop's friendship and home. Therefore he sold his homes and sold his prebends; and now he is displeasing to the leading men. For that which the ever-hungry stomach and loins caused, Landry, the talk of the town, atones.

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics.* 8] anticum *H*: ti *written again above line.* 9] damp *H.* 14] *Ink thick.* Landricus *and* urbe *rewritten above line.*

The poet of the sixth poem brings home a moral point, but he does so with touches of both crudity and elegance. The former quality is evident in his description of the interaction between the gullet (*gula/venter*) and phallus (*priapus/mentula*). The latter shows in his casual, but deft allusions to classical poets such as Ovid and Horace.[64] The most important of these allusions (line 5) draws a parallel between Landry and an Ovidian glutton, Erysichthon, who was stricken with insatiable hunger as punishment for violating a sacred grove: "quod pontus, quod terra, quod educat aer,/ poscit et adpositis queritur ieiunia mensis. . ." (*Metamorphoses* 8.830-831 "he demands what the sea, land, and air bring forth,/ and he complains of hunger even when the tables are laden").[65] The poet's easy familiarity with Latin poetry may extend even to the works of contemporaries, since lines 7-8 seem to imitate the opening of Bernard Silvestris' *Cosmographia*.[66]

Although the Landry in the sixth poem could have been a real person, he is far likelier to have been a literary figure of some sort. In the latter case he could have been either a stock scoundrel, as he appeared in Latin poetry,[67] or a burlesque of the hero in a lost Old French *chanson de geste* about Count Landry of Nevers.[68] In any event, Landry seems to have been old hat to twelfth-century audiences of poetry; for in a passage about the repertoires of minstrels Peter Chanter (ca. 1120-1197) commented:

> Qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus, statim incipiunt de Narciso cantare, quod si nec placuerit, cantant de alio.[69]

[64] The wording of line 8 reflects Ovid, particularly *Metamorphoses* 2.299 ("in chaos antiquum confundimur"), but also *Fasti* 1.103 and *Ex Ponto* 4.8.84. The ending of line 9 was known through Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.106. The idiom *fabula fio* in the final line can be traced to Horace *Epistles* 1.13.9, and Persius 5.152 (see the *Oxford Latin Dictionary fabula* 1d).

[65] For similar constructions, see Lucretius 1.278, Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.10.9, and LH-L 3.288.

[66] See *Cosmographia*, ed. Dronke (note 45), pp. 9 and 97.

[67] For a possible example of such a poem, see Wilmart, "Le Florilège" (note 1), p. 20, no. 8: "Landricus medicus faciens quod factor iniquus./ De muliere uirum fit merito neutrum./ Amodo clareret sua quid medicina ualeret:/ Vertere si neutrum posset in alterutrum."

[68] See Ferdinand Lot, "La chanson de Landri," *Romania*, 32 (1903), 1-17.

[69] *Verbum abbreviatum* (composed 1187-1197), Chap. 27, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 205, columns 21-370 (here: column 101A). The passage was repeated, but with substitution of the name Wacherius for Narcissus, by Gerald of Wales, *Gemma ecclesiastica* D. II, in J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, E. A. Freeman, and G. F. Warner, eds., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols., Rolls Series (London 1861-1891), II, 3-364 (here: p. 290).

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> [These minstrels,] when they see that their song [or *chanson de geste*] about Landry fails to please their listeners, at once begin to sing the one about Narcissus; and if that doesn't work, they sing about another character.

The seventh poem, which has already been quoted, features two historically attested individuals who were the antitheses of Landry, namely, Thierry and Gualo. Mentioning the philosopher Thierry induces the anthologist to include the eighth poem, a brief exposition of the doctrines of prominent ancient philosophers ("He puts forward the opinions of the philosophers"):

Ponit opiniones philosophorum

Materiam rerum proponit Eraclitus ignem,
Aera Anaximenes primo fuisse putat,
Id Tales ascribit aquis, athomis Epicurus,
Pitagoras minimis Esiodusque solo.

Translation: Heraclitus proposes that the substance of things is fire, Anaximenes thinks that air was first, Thales attributes it to water, Epicurus to atoms, Pythagoras to smallest (particles), Hesiod to earth.

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics.* 2] Anaximanes *H*: *last* a *expunged and* e *added above line.* fuise *H.* 4] Pitagogas *H*: *corrected through addition of* or *above line.*

From praise of wisdom the anthologist passes to invective. The ninth poem bears the no-nonsense title "An Invective against Bassus" (*Inuectio ad Bassum*). The name would seem to reflect classical poetry, since a drinker called Bassus occurs in the verse of both Horace and Martial, and poets of the same name are in the works of Propertius, Ovid, and Persius;[70] but little is clear about the text of this poem apart from its incipit ("Basse pilos odis neque cernis quanta pilorum"), although it comprises only four lines.

The classical ring of the name and the invective tone of the entire poem afford the anthologist a transition to the tenth poem, entitled "To a certain haughty and invidious man":

Ad quemdam superbum et inuidum

Vis tua fracta perit fracto de cornibus uno;
Frons, Acheloe, suo trunca decore caret.
Frangitur in fracto frangenda superbia cornu
Et te tota simul copia deseruit.
Erepto cornu uis est erepta nocendi.

[70] For drinkers named Bassus, see Horace *Odes* 1.36.14, and Martial 6.69. For poets, see Ovid *Tristia* 4.10.47, Propertius 1.4.1 and 1.4.12, and Persius 6.1.

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Posse cares sed non uelle nocere cares.
Impia mens assueta malis celerumque magistra,
Immo parens scelerum, corripit omne scelus.

Translation: Your might is broken and perishes when one of (your) horns is broken; (your) mutilated forehead, Achelous, lacks its (usual) charm. Pride that should be broken is broken when a horn is broken and all might at once forsook you. When one horn is taken away, the power to injure is taken away; you lack the power to cause harm, but you do not lack the desire to do so. An impious mind, accustomed to wickednesses and the mistress of crimes—no, the parent of crimes—seizes hold of every crime.

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics.* 2] aquilone *H*: *corrected above line to* Acheloe. 3] frangend *H*: da *added above line.* 4] *Erasure above* deseruit.

The main device of this poem is to mock an unspecified person for being like the mythological Achelous, a river-god who lost a horn when struggling in the form of a bull with Hercules. The poet's familiarity with the ancient myth is apparent in line 4, where he alludes slyly to the cornucopia, which was reported to have been created from Achelous' lost horn. The poet's awareness of Ovid in particular stands out in the phrase "frons. . . trunca" in the second line, which recalls *Metamorphoses* 9.1-2 "truncaeque. . . frontis" and 9.86 "truncaque a fronte revellit." The inspiration to identify a vicious person with Achelous probably came to the poet as a result of reading a commentary on Ovid. No similar identification appears in early commentaries on Ovid, such as those of Arnulf of Orléans (late twelfth century) and John of Garland (thirteenth century), or in early standard mythographic works, such as those of the three Vatican mythographers;[71] but a close parallel is found in the fourteenth-century moralization of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Peter Bersuire (Petrus Berchorius), who equates Achelous with the devil, Deianira with the human soul, and Hercules with the son of God. Bersuire writes that Hercules broke Achelous' "horn of power" ("cornu suę potentiæ"), and he cites Psalm 74.11: "I will break the horns of sinners" ("Cornua peccatorum confringam").[72]

Like the tenth poem, the eleventh equates an unnamed person with an ancient mythological figure; and, like the tenth poem, these twelve lines in end-rhymed elegiac distichs are lightly ornamented with classical borrowings. The phrase "Rupe caua latitans" in the seventh verse seems to fuse Ovid's description of Polyphemus "latitans ego rupe" (*Metamorphoses* 13.786) with Virgil's description of the monster's cave "cauo. . . in antro" (*Aeneid* 3.641). Even the vocative "pater optime" comes in the same metrical position as the same phrase in Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.710.[73]

[71] For Arnulf, see Fausto Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans un cultore di Ovidio nel Secolo XII," *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere, scienze morali e storiche* 24, fasc. 4 (1932), 157-234; for John of Garland, see *Integumenta Ovidii. Poemetto inedito del secolo XIII*, ed. Fausto Ghisalberti, Testi e documenti inediti o rari (Messina and Milan: Casa editrice Giuseppe Principato, 1933); and for the three Vatican mythographers, see Georgius Henricus Bode, ed. *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, 2 vols. (Celle: n.p., 1834), I, 1-73 (First Vatican Mythographer), I, 74-151 (Second), and I, 152-256 (Third). For information on the dates of the three Vatican mythographers, see Richard M. Krill, "The *Vatican Mythographers*: Their Place in Ancient Mythography," *Manuscripta*, 23 (1979), 173-177.

[72] Petrus Berchorius (= Pierre Bersuire), *Ovidius moralizatus* Book 9, Fable 1; see *Metamorphosis Ouidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Walleys anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico: explanata* (Venundatur in aedibus Ascensianis & sub pelicano in vico sancti Iacobi Parisijs, 1509), folio LXVII^{r} = Petrus Berchorius, *Reductorium morale. Liber XV, cap. ii-xv: "Ovidius moralizatus" naar de Parijse druk van 1509* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Laat Latijn der Rijksuniversiteit, 1962), p. 135.

[73] For the line ending "lumine cecus" in 5, see LH-L 3.242; for the phrases "decus omne" and "omne decus" in 6, see LH-L 2.21-22 and 4.28-29.

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De quodam prelato cupido et auaro

Errant qui credunt gentem periisse Ciclopum:
En, Poliphemus adest multiplicator opum, *2r2*\
2v1 Excedens alios uultuque minisque Ciclopes,
Tantalus alter, inops esurit inter opes.
Cum sit tam capitis quam mentis lumine cecus,
Dedecus omne docet, dedocet omne decus.
Rupe caua latitans cupiendo, timendo laborat;
Quosque tenere potest, ossa cutemque uorat.
Ecclesiam lacerat, deglutit publica fratrum,
Nec saciare potest mentis hians baratrum.
Pontificum legate, <decus>, pater optime patrum,
Ad solitum redeat, coge nefas, aratrum.

Translation: Those err who believe that the clan of the Cyclopes perished: look, there is a Polyphemus who multiplies his wealth. Outdoing the other Cyclopes in both his demeanor and threats, he is another Tantalus, hungering needily amid abundance. Since he is blind spiritually as well as physically, he teaches every dishonor and unteaches every honor. Lurking in a cliffside hollow, he toils in desire and fear; and those whom he can hold, he devours their bones and flesh. He tears apart the church, he gobbles the communal property of the brothers, and he cannot satisfy the yawning chasm of [his] mind. Pontifical legate, glory, best father of fathers, force this wicked person to return to the usual plow.

Textual notes: *Title and first letter in rubrics. Last letter of title cropped away.* 1] periisse *Rg*: perisse *H*. 2] En *Rg*: Et *H*. Pholiphemus *H*: *first* h *expunged*. 4] ater *H*: al *written above line*. inops exurit *Rg*: iops esurit (*suspension mark omitted*) *H*. 6] docet, dedocet *H*: decet, dedecet *Rg*. Quosque *H*: Quemque *Rg*. 10] hiens *H*. 11] Pontificum legate decus *Rg*: Pontificum legale (*no lacuna*) *H*.

Although the Polyphemus here could be any selfishly grasping person, the poem later reveals that he is indeed, as the title proclaims, "a Certain Lusty and Greedy Prelate."[74] His failure may be emphasized in Christian terms, if the last verse is meant somehow to echo Luke 9.62 "ait ad illum Iesus: 'Nemo mittens manum suam in aratrum et aspiciens retro aptus est regno Dei' " ("Jesus said to him: No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God").[75]

Following the Polyphemus poem are eight hexameters, end-rhymed in two groups of four lines, which are marked by a red initial as a new poem (the twelfth poem). In these lines a poet calls upon Father Hilary to discipline a miscreant similar to the ones described in poems 9–11:

Exilaras mestos, Hilaris pater, Hilarienses.
Cuius uirga regit, docet accio Burdegalenses:
Iura foues reprimisque dolos, sed digna repenses

[74] The title is written in the right margin, beside the last verse of Poem 10.

[75] The Latin text of Bible quotations is taken from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975), the English from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Murphy Company, 1899).

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Qui delere uolunt <que tu>, pater optime, censes.
Luce tua remoue tenebras animosque serena;
Dumque redis nobis redeant solacia plena
Afficiatque semel Polifemum debita pena.
Tam caput elatum confringe minasque refrena.

Translation: You bring hilarity, Father Hilary, to the sad followers of St. Hilary. (You) whose rod rules the people of Bordeaux teach them through (your) conduct: you cherish the laws and restrain treachery, but may you make fitting returns (to those) who wish to destroy what you recommend, best father. Through your light remove darkness and brighten hearts; and as you return, may complete solace return to us, and may the punishment due him cause harm to Polyphemus once and for all. Shatter the head that has risen so high and restrain the threats.

Textual notes: *Initial rubricated.* 1] exilaras: exilares *with* e *expunged and* a *above line in same hand H*, exhilaras *Rg*. 2] docet *H*: beat *Rg*. Burdegalenses *Rg*: Burdegalanses *H*. 3] foues *H*: fouet *Rg*. digna *written unclearly*: na *added above line H*. 4] uolunt que tu pater *Rg*: uolunt pater *no lacuna in H*. 7] Afficiatque *H*: Efficiantque *Rg*. Polifemum *H*: Poliphemum *Rg*. 8] minasque *H*: minaque *Rg*.

Despite the change of meter between poems 11 and 12 and the fact that the scribes of both manuscripts copy them as separate poems, the links between them are so strong that a recent reader has argued for considering them a single poem.[76] The two poems are stylistically related: the vocative "pater optime" appears in 12.4 in the same metrical position as in 11.11.[77] More important, the poems are clearly concerned with the same malefactor, since 12.7 mentions the Polyphemus who is the topic of 11. If the title of poem 12 is correct, then Polyphemus was probably a bishop of Poitiers who oppressed the *Hilarienses* (the monks or canons of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand at Poitiers, in the district of Vienne).[78]

Although poems 11-12 were no doubt composed by the same author, the addressees seem to be different. Who is the "Father Hilary" who is expected to restore peace and order to the people of Bordeaux, particularly to the monks of Poitiers? He could be a real person, although probably not the legate mentioned at the end of poem 11.[79] If "Father Hilary" is not a living person, he could be Saint Hilary, the patron saint of Poitiers (died ca. 368). In any event, poem 12 takes us out of the Anjou-Île de France region, since it refers to the people of Bordeaux (*Burdegalenses*, here misspelt *Burdegalanses*) as well as to the religious of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand.

The untitled thirteenth poem lingers over the topic of ecclesiastic corruption, charging that an unnamed prelate turns over church property to his Ganymede—that is, his male lover.

[76] Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 487, no. 63.

[77] Among the other allusions and stock phrases are "digna repenses" in 3 (compare LH-L 2.79) and "debita pena" in 7 (compare LH-L 2.13, especially Ovid *Fasti* 5.648 "Et tandem Caco debita poena venit").

[78] Johann Gustav Theodor Graesse and Friedrich Benedict, *Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen. Lateinisch-deutsch, deutsch-lateinisch. Handausgabe*, rev. Helmut Plechl (Braunschweig: Klinckhardt & Biermann, 1971), p. 178, identifies *Hilarii eccl.* as Antran (Vienne), France. On Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand, see Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age: Topo-bibliographie* (Montbéliard: Société anonyme d'Imprimerie montbéliardaise, 1894-1903), column 2709.

[79] *Pace* Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)" (note 4), p. 487, no. 63.

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Edibus in nostris ferus hospitibus Diomedes
Intulit insidias, fecit manus impia cedes;
Nunc moriens hostis nostras sibi uindicat edes
Ut suus in dote*s* proprias habeat Ganimedes.
Iusticie legate rigor, defensio ueri, 5
Arbitrio cuius pendet moderatio cleri:
Hoc tantum faci*n*us prohibe dignum prohiberi; *2*^{v1}\
2^{v2} Hostis frange minas et nos assuesce tueri.

Translation: In our household a savage Diomedes laid snares for guests, an impious hand caused bloodshed; and the enemy, now dying, claims our house for himself so that his Ganymede may have it as his dowry. O legate, rigor of justice, defense of truth, upon whose judgment depends the governance of the clergy: forbid this great crime, which deserves to be forbidden; break the threats of the enemy and keep the habit of protecting us.

Textual notes: *Initial rubricated*. 4] *Squeezed between lines 3 and 5*. in dote proprias *H*. 7] facimus *H*.

The mention of the legate in the fifth line recalls the eleventh line of poem 11. In both cases it is tempting to think of the pontifical legate Amatus, archbishop of Bordeaux (died in 1101).[80] Amatus was the addressee of at least two poems by Baudry.[81]

Poem 13 is also closely related to poem 11 in form, inspiration, and technique. Like 11, poem 13 commences with a mythological allusion—this time to Diomedes, a Thracian king who had visitors eaten by his mares. Like Achelous in the tenth poem, Diomedes is a mythical figure who appears in Book 9 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[82] As was the case with Achelous, the sort of interpretation advanced in this poem is not found in the early commentaries of Arnulf of Orléans and John of Garland, or in the three Vatican mythographers; but it resembles Bersuire's moralization of the passage (*Metamorphoses* 9.194):

> . . . diomedes significat mundi tyrannos qui equis id est stipendarijs dant comedere carnes hominum laceratorum id est substantias hominum miserorum. itaque pręsepia talium equorum id est talium oppressorum cadaueribus id est bonis sunt plena.
>
> . . . Diomedes signifies the tyrants of the world who give the flesh of men torn apart—that is, the possessions of miserable men—to their horses—that it, tributaries—to eat so that the stables of such horses—that is, of such oppressors—are filled with bodies—that is, with goods.[83]

[80] This suggestion was made by Vernet, "Séance du 16 Avril" (note 21), p. 53. For information on Amatus of Oloron, see Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich* (note 35), pp. 88-152 (especially 89-91 and 110-115).

[81] See *Carmina*, ed. Hilbert (note 53), pp. 199-200, nos. 146-147 = ed. Abrahams (note 53), nos. 208-209.

[82] Another possible Ovidian touch is the phrase "manus impia" in line 2, which appears in the same metrical position in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.763 and *Epistulae* 7.127.

[83] Petrus Berchorius, *Ovidius moralizatus* Book 9, Fable 9: see *Metamorphosis Ouidiana* (note 72), folio LXIX^{v}. The translation is quoted from William Donald Reynolds, "The *Ovidius moralizatus* of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971, p. 333.

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The allusion in the twelfth-century poem has a particular appropriateness, since passive male homosexuals were sometimes associated with mares in medieval literature.[84]

One further similarity between the eleventh and thirteenth poems is that both introduce into their mythological allusions a figure from an unrelated myth: just as the rapacious Polyphemus of the eleventh poem is "another Tantalus," the Diomedes of the thirteenth has a protégé who is a Ganymede.

The mythological poems began with the pure invective of 10, but they shifted in 11-13 to balancing complaints with pleas for the punishment of the malefactors. In the last few poems before the biblical epigrams the anthologist guides the reader away from the acrimony of the mythological poems toward penance and theology. This route begins in the fourteenth poem, a single rhymed couplet on the theme of purity:

Intus et exterius uirtute lauemur et unda;
Exteriora liquor, uirtus facit intima munda.

Translation: Inwardly and outwardly let us be washed by virtue and water; water makes the outside pure, virtue the inside.

Textual note: *Initial rubricated.*

In the remaining poems in the first group, the anthologist continues to escort the reader on a penitential path, so that the shift to the biblical epigrams seems in no way abrupt.

Much is unclear about the fifteenth poem, but no one would dispute that it opens with a firm directive to the addressee to accept punishment for his wrongdoing and concludes with a blunt statement of his failings. If the letters at the end of the first line spell "Loteri," then the poem could be a comment upon the defeat in 1137 of Roger II, Count of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and King at the hands of Lothar II (III), Emperor, Count of Supplinburg, and Duke of Saxony. If the topic of the poem is indeed the conflict between Roger and Lothar, then the commentator succeeded in conveying the fractious atmosphere of the papal schism, before the Anti-Pope Anacletus II died in 1138; but he must have been ill-informed about the specifics of 1137-38, since Lothar also went to the grave in 1137, long before Roger!

Solue graues penas celerum, conmitte, *Lot*eri;
Solue graues, sed que digne poterunt adhiberi.
Excicium maius te censet Roma mereri
Quam quod tortoris excogitet ira seueri.
Te simonia notat domus eruta morsque Rogeri:
Quodlibet istorum te dampnat in ordine cleri.

[84] Such an association seems to underly the comment in Geoffrey Chaucer's General Prologue (line 691) to *The Canterbury Tales* that the Pardoner resembled "a geldyng or a mare": *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), p. 23. For information on the same association in early Scandinavian societies, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, The Viking Collection: Studies in Northern Civilization (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983).

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Translation: Pay the heavy penalties for crimes, incur (them), Lothar; pay the penalties, which are heavy but which can rightly be applied. Rome resolves that you deserve a greater destruction than that which the anger of a stern torturer can devise. [5] Simony is charged against you, as well as the destroyed house and death of Roger: any one of these condemns you in the rank of the clergy.

Textual notes: *Initial rubricated.* 1] Loteri *or* Lioteri *or* limeri *or* Boteri *H.* 3] moueri *corrected above line to* mereri *H.* 4] simonia *written poorly H.* eruta·mors *written above line H.*

The mention of Rome connects the fifteenth poem to the sixteenth, which is fortunately easier to decipher and interpret:

Per loca culta parum, per aquas, per lustra ferarum,
Per iuga perque niues trait orbem curia diues.
Difficilis callis ubi nix, ubi mons, ubi uallis
Inpedit, infestat, trahit artus, corda molestat.
Dum tremulos pontes, gelidos dum transeo montes
Nil habeo tuti, proprie diffido saluti;
Undique cerno minas nemorum montisque ruinas.
Cladibus his emi quod uidi menia Remi.

Translation: The wealthy papal court drags the world through scarcely cultivated places—through waters, the lairs of wild beasts, mountain ridges, and snow. The difficult path troubles the heart, where the snow impedes, the mountain assaults, and the valley drags back the limbs. As I cross tottering bridges and frozen mountains, I hold nothing safe and I fear for my own safety. Everywhere I perceive the threats of groves and the ruins of a mountain. Through these disastrous experiences I paid for seeing the walls of Remus.

Textual notes: *Initial rubricated.* 1] culta pa *H*: culta parum *added above line in same hand.* 2] trait *H*: trahit *D.* 4] trahit artus *H*: terit artus *D.* 7] Undique cerno *H*: Unde cerno *D.*

Although most of the sixteenth poem describes the travails of the route that a wayfarer must travel to reach Rome, it is no mere verse itinerary. The phrase *curia diues* calls attention to the venality of the papal court, which was criticized for encouraging pilgrimages simply to increase its wealth.[85] The two words cast doubt upon the entire enterprise of risking life and limb to see the *menia Remi*, if they are nothing but the walls of a greedy and corrupt city.

In the sixteenth poem are three mentions of mountains. These afford the anthologist a link with the seventeenth poem, which is set upon a mountain:

Mira uidere cupis? Ascende cacumina rupis;
Non alibi quam ibi dat petra mella tibi.

[85] On satire against Rome, see Josef Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Historische Studien, 404 (Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen, 1968), and John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire*, University of Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 17 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), pp. 82-117 (esp. p. 109).

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Quid sit et unde stupes quod manat nectare rupes:
Non dedit illud apis quod capis immo lapis.
Ex apium cellis non est data copia mellis, 5
Fundit mella silex plus quam caua quercus et ilex. \2^{v2}

Translation: You wish to see marvels? Climb the peaks of the mountain. Nowhere but there does a rock produce honey for you. You are stunned why and for what reason it should be, that a crag flows with nectar. Not a bee, but a stone produced the honey that you take. The abundance of honey was not produced by cells [in a beehive]. Flint, rather than a hollow oak or holm-oak, pours forth honey.

Textual notes: *Initial rubricated.* 1] cacumina mo *H*: rupis *added above line.*

Apart from their settings, poems 16-17 have little common ground. Whereas 16 is concerned with the routes that the poet follows to the papal court in Rome, 17 reformulates one verse in the Canticle of Moses:

> Constituit eum super excelsam terram ut comederet fructus agrorum, ut sugeret mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo (Deuteronomy 32.13: compare Psalm 81.17).
>
> He set him upon high land: that he might eat the fruits of the fields, that he might suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the hardest stone.

At first sight this verse in Deuteronomy seems an odd choice for inclusion in the anthology; but this impression is dispelled as soon as one realizes that the verse is a preface to the text of the biblical epigrams, which begins on the next folio. In this light, poem 17 becomes a hermeneutic exhortation to the reader to be prepared to interpret the Old Testament meaningfully. Possibly the poet had in mind the typological understanding of Deuteronomy 32.13 that Rabanus Maurus urged:

> Sed nusquam tale aliquid juxta historiam legitur, si tota Testamenti series Veteris recenseatur. Nusquam de petra mel, nusquam oleum populus ille suxit. Sed quia juxta Pauli vocem, petra erat Christus, mel de petra suxerunt, qui ejusdem Redemptoris nostri facta et miracula viderunt.[86]
>
> But nothing of the sort can be read anywhere on the literal level, even if the whole of the Old Testament is considered. Nowhere did that people suck honey from a stone, never oil. But because according to Paul's statement the rock was Christ, they who saw the deeds and miracles of our redeemer sucked honey from a stone.

Rabanus Maurus's interpretation is especially relevant to the biblical epigrams, which are arranged in an irregular alternation between Old Testament and New Testament topics. But Rabanus is hardly the only plausible source of inspiration for the

[86] *Enarrationes super Deuteronomium*, PL 108.837-998 (here: 975CD, Lib. 4, Caput 2).

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poet, since the metaphor of drawing honey from rocks is commonplace in medieval discussions of biblical exegesis.[87]

Put in the metaphoric terms of poem 17, Houghton MS. Lat 300 is not a heap of dry rocks. Although no one would argue that Houghton MS. Lat 300 is a cultural monument on the order of the *Carmina cantabrigiensia* or *Carmina burana*, no one should deny that it contains drops of a distinctively twelfth-century Latin honey, honey from both sweet flowers of eulogy and tangy blooms of invective, honey flavored by both classical Latin and Christian Latin blossoms.

[87] See Klaus Lange, "Geistliche Speise. Untersuchungen zur Metaphorik der Bibelhermeneutik," *Zeitschrift frϋdeutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 95 (1966), 81-122, and Hans-Jörg Spitz, *Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns. Ein Beitrag zur allegorischen Bibelauslegung des ersten christlichen Jahrtausends*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 12 (Munich: W. Fink, 1972).

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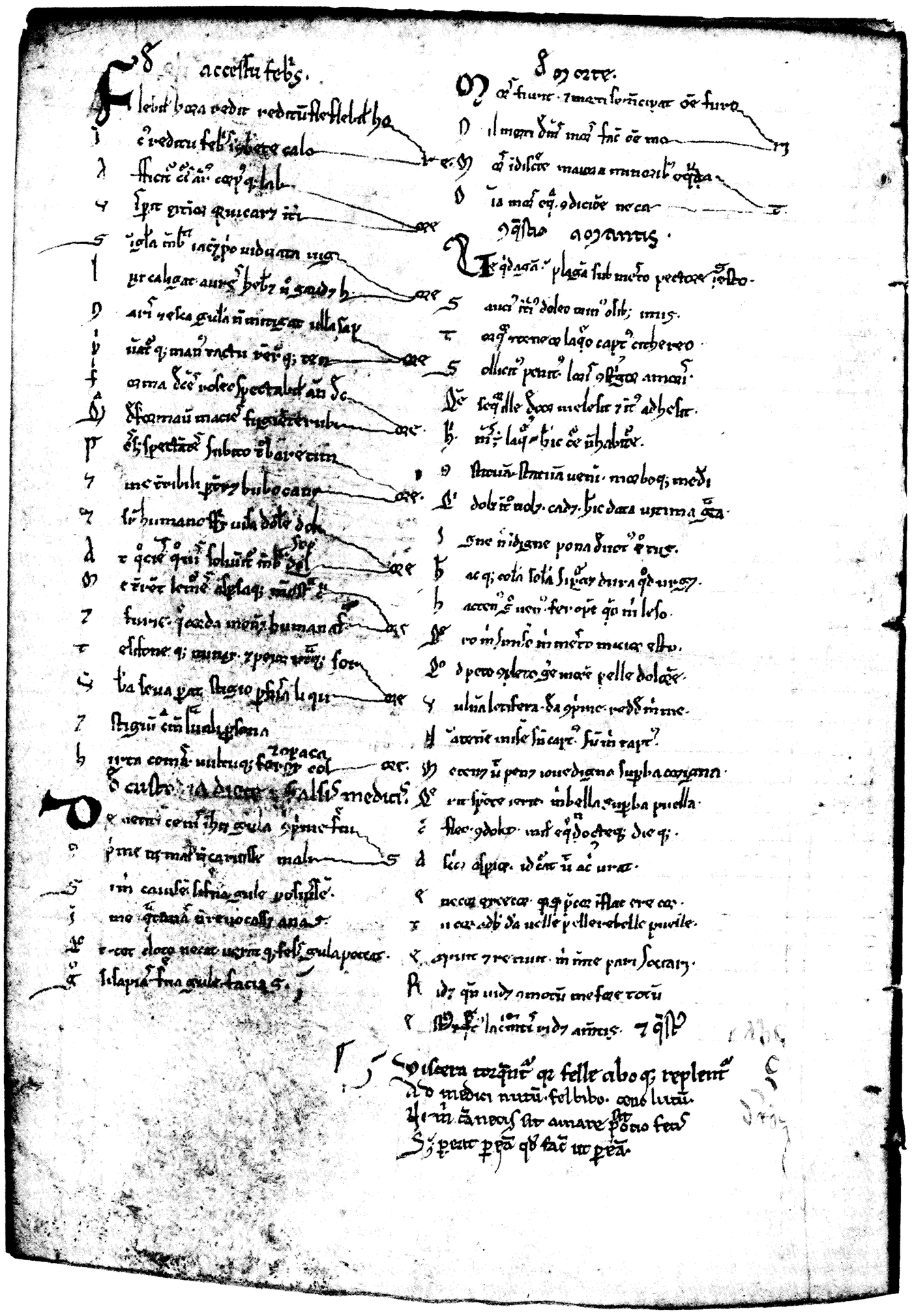

Figure 5. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 1v

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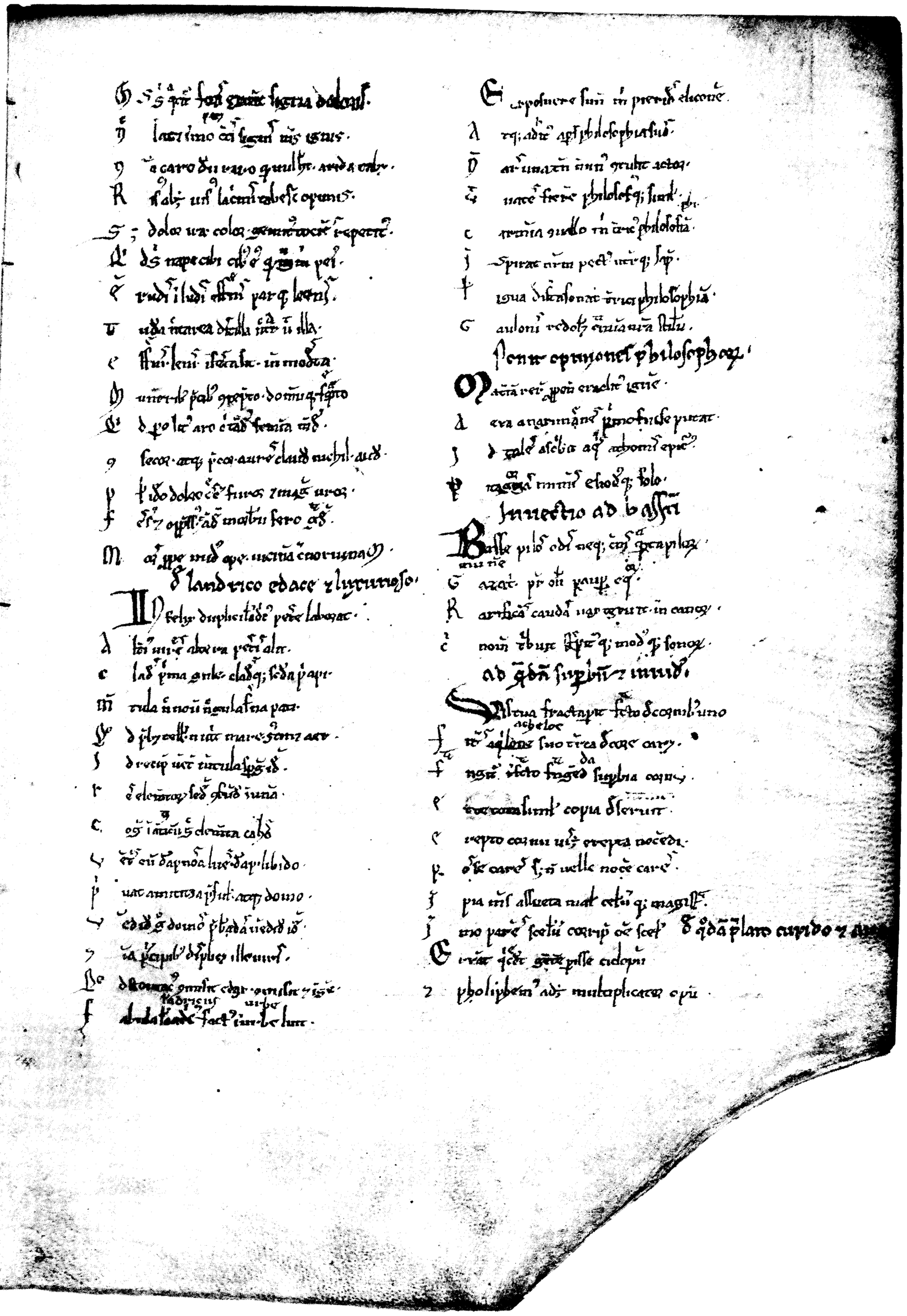

Figure 6. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 2r

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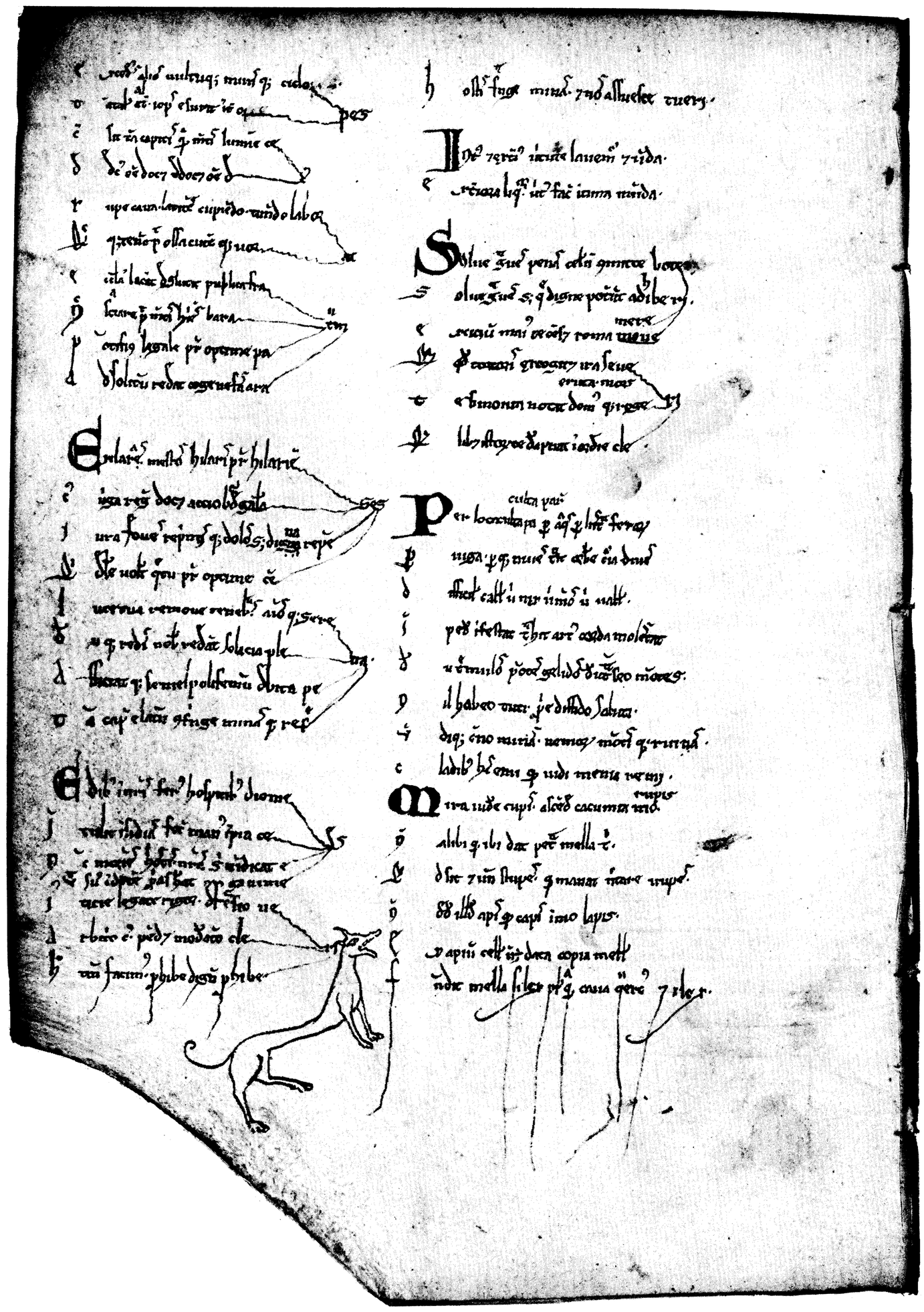

Figure 7. Houghton MS. Lat 300, fol. 2v

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